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ONE HUNDRED FEMALE OFFENDERS.

A STUDY OF THE MENTALITY OF PROSTITUTES AND "WAYWARD" GIRLS¹

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The first half of this study is concerned with the mentality of prostitutes as determined by the Binet-Simon measuring scale of intelligence plus observation of these cases and conversation with them for varying periods of time. This observation is of no little value in supplementing the result of formal mental tests where the examiner has had experience and contact with defectives, defective-delinquents and delinquents, and has examined a considerable number of offenders in whose cases lengthy study and investigation and extended examination have left no doubt as to their mental defect.

For some twelve years the writer has been interested in the subject of prostitution from the social and economic standpoints, and early in a consideration of this ancient institution appreciated the fact, that, while these women in the one distinguishing act of deviate conduct probably differ in nowise from certain women of so-called "good society," yet a comparison of the two types (the common "garden variety" of prostitute and the woman of good society who has illicit sexual relations) makes evident the fact that some very substantial differences exist along the line of social reactions and general conduct outside the one act that constitutes the breach of so-called morals. These differences in general conduct and personality are extensive, and doubtless in numbers of cases are based on a wide variety of social, industrial and economic conditions. However, rather extensive observations of average prostitutes in numbers of cities long ago led me to feel that there was a sort of type, not in any Lombrosian sense, nor indicating a fundamental causative factor in the propagation of the institution.

¹Read before the Capital District Conference of Charities and Correction, held in Albany, March, 1915.

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but rather indicative of the class from which the ranks of prostitution are recruited. The social and economic factors earlier referred to would, of course, exert their influence all the more strongly should the human being acted upon belong to that class of unfortunates, who (to modify slightly words that are familiar to many readers) by reason of incomplete cerebral development are unable to perform their duties as members of society in the position of life to which they were born; are incapable of competing on equal terms with their normal fellows; or of managing themselves and their affairs with ordinary prudence.

Intelligent "madams" of houses of prostitution frequently have strengthened my belief, that numbers of these girls are recruited from that body of irresponsibles "more sinned against than sinning," by recounting in detail the methods employed in the management, discipline and care of their charges, and by describing the foolishness of many of the inmates, and recounting specific instances of the absence of good judgment and ability wisely to direct their daily lives when not carefully supervised.

Opportunity to estimate the intelligence of these people through the medium of formal mental tests presented itself over a year ago. Through the sympathetic co-operation of Mr. Roland Ford, a lawyer of training and culture, representing the Federal Department of Justice under the Mann Act, this portion of the study was rendered possible. Few so-called "White Slave" agents have approached the institution of prostitution with as scientific a spirit as has Mr. Ford. He long ago heard the cry of the amateur social reformer—"We must drive the prostitutes from every community," and he also heard that unanswered question of the prostitutes—"To what place are you going to drive us?"

His attitude has been that of a seeker after truth—the truth that will mean something worth while for the prostitute (who frequently feels that her work is a legitimate means of livelihood) as well as for society with the accusing finger leveled at a social sore.

This study is not concerned with the causes of prostitution nor with any scheme for the rehabilitation of society along this particular channel; these matters are being dealt with by authorities on social economy who enjoy a far wider approach to the subject and therefore view it from many angles. However, these same "up-lifters" (to use a title from the lips of one of the persons to be "lifted") should welcome every scrap of truth bearing on the problem that may be dug out by an investigator along any special line.

In the field of preventive medicine it is of great importance to know that hunger, poverty, alcohol, worry, etc., lower the bodily resistance to disease; in the field of social hygiene it should be of considerable significance to know that defective mentality (involving lowered powers of resistance to improper influences) may mean the presence of a proportionately large number of persons so handicapped within the confines of the various anti-social groups, not always because of positive tendencies toward what is wrong, but because limited intelligence keeps them from rising above temptation and from successfully combating unfavorable environment.

Because of this special significance to social workers, educators, judges, and court and probation officers, and because of the limitation of the investigation to one set of formal tests, I have approached the problem from the popular rather than the scientific side.

Let me remind you of the report of the Massachusetts Vice Commission in March, 1914, which registered as feeble-minded 51 per cent of three hundred cases, and included among those rated as normal 71 or 23 per cent of the whole number who measured up only to the 11-year level.

Probably the most valuable study of this character was made by Dr. Edith L. Spaulding,³ of the Reformatory for Women, South Framingham, Mass. Dr. Spaulding's investigation was much more comprehensive than any other with which I am familiar, and is of great value from the standpoint of public health and social hygiene. It included physical examinations of 243 sex offenders (embracing the necessary laboratory procedures for the diagnosis of venereal diseases) as well as a classification of the cases in reference to their mentality.

Our tests were made in the houses, where the women, not being under arrest and not being accused of any misdemeanor, were free from excitement and antagonism, and, in all but two cases, free from nervousness. The examinations took place on Sunday afternoons when the girls were probably in a more rested and refreshed condition than at any other period of the week. The "madams" of the eleven houses in which cases were tested showed a spirit of friendly co-operation, and the tests were made under controlled conditions.

The ages ranged from 22 years to 41 years. The average age was 27 years. The mentality ranged from 7 years to normal intelligence. The average mental age was 10 years.

³ See two articles by Dr. Spaulding in this JOURNAL Vol. IV No. 5, pp. 712 ff. and Vol. V No. 5, pp. 704 ff.

TABLE I.

23 or 46 percent	were of normal intelligence.
18 or 36 per cent	tested 10 years.
5 or 10 per cent	tested 9 years.
3 or 6 per cent	tested 8 years.
1 or 2 per cent	tested 7 years.

Of this list 9 or 8 per cent represented definitely segregable types about whose mentality there would be little difference of opinion among trained observers. Eighteen or 36 per cent of the whole number represent cases of higher grade morosity, more difficult of demonstration but most important in its appeal to judges, physicians, educators and social workers for recognition, if scientific disposition is to be made of rather a large proportion of offenders.

Of those tested four were "madams," all of adult intelligence. One girl exhibited a greatly scarred tongue and much nervous instability. The "madam" told of constant bad temper and irritability on the part of this girl, amounting at times to maniacal outbursts following "stupor-like" periods. There is little doubt that this was a case of epilepsy.

A consideration of the psychic constitution of the women of adult intelligence was not possible in any formal manner. However, it might be of interest to state that roughly about half of them were of the phlegmatic, lazy, apathetic type, while the other half were women who lacked emotional control, and bore the signs of general nervous instability. These cases would doubtless constitute a most interesting field for detailed and special psychological exploration.

It may also be of interest to note that the per cent of girls with normal intelligence was no higher in the so-called "high price" houses than in the cheaper places. The "high class" girls had acquired more polish and were more polite in their address than the girls from the cheaper houses; but their limitations were quite as evident when their attention was invited to formal tests of native intelligence.

After testing these cases we applied the tests to ten girls of about the same age, high school graduates who had enjoyed one or two additional years of training in a training school for teachers. These girls, of course, ranked below the prostitute in point of worldly experience.

The results are as follows:

4 failed in but one test.

5 failed in but three tests.

1 failed in but four tests.

All ten interpreted the pictures and passed the controlled association test. In considering these girls about whose mentality there is no question, we find that the girl who had the greatest number of failures still attained to the eleven-year level when reckoning with the responses to the tests for the twelve years. The causative factors in the above failures were very probably identical with those figuring in the failures of the prostitutes who missed but three or four tests,—the tests missed being the same in both series in the majority of instances. The result thus furnishes, for our particular study, a sort of rough control, and of the one hundred cases studied all that tested above the eleven-year level have been arbitrarily rated as normal in intelligence. In all cases but one of such character the personal observation and judgment of the examiner were in harmony with this standard.

The second part of our study deals with fifty so-called "wayward" girls. Nine of these cases were "street walkers" and were examined at their rooming houses. It was our feeling that we would find more girls of normal intelligence amongst this class than amongst those who had sought the protection and shelter of a regular house. We felt that a greater degree of resourcefulness was required to solicit on the street, evade arrest, and carry the responsibility of the more independent existence, than to retain a place as an inmate of a house. It is known that a period of private prostitution usually precedes the actual taking up of residence in a house. It was our feeling that the less efficient were more apt to seek the security of a house, those of higher intelligence (many of whom are only partially dependent upon prostitution for a living) maintaining a more or less independent existence outside the regular houses. I am aware of the weak spots in this statement, but it is at least suggestive when we note that 55 per cent of the "street walkers" were of normal intelligence as against 46 per cent of the prostitutes examined in regular houses.

The next case is that of:

Una C.

I saw Una on behalf of the Board of Education. She has a feeble-minded father and a mother of rather inferior mentality. Father has drifted about from place to place, never holding a job

very long. When I saw him at my office he cried in a maudlin fashion and wanted to know what he could do for his little girl. Una is a rather nice looking girl of premature sex development. She has some very severe epileptic seizures and has a mental age of 7⁴, her chronological age being 13 years. Her basal year is 6. She cannot copy the diamond. Her mother said she "ran the streets" at night, and that they could not keep her in. One night she went to bed but later made her exit from the window and went off with a boy for the night. When accused by an interested woman of being out with the butcher boy all night she stoutly denied it until cornered in a lie, when she said: "Well, I wasn't out with the butcher boy, it was the fish boy." She approached a "plain clothes" officer on the street one night and asked him to take a walk. She was such a trouble to her simple minded parents that they listened to my plea for an institution for the girl. She was later sent to an institution for a time but finally was brought home and later the family went to another state. When I next heard of them it was through the Overseer of the Poor of the County in which they were then staying. He wrote that the parents wished to place the girl in an institution for epileptics, but that they had not acquired a residence in that locality. Chronological age 13 years. Mental age 7⁴. Epilepsy.

Carlotta B.

Carlotta was brought to my office by a social worker. She was in the fifth grade when she left school. Father drives a coal wagon. Mother at home and said to be feeble minded. Six children living and five dead. Little brother 3 years old can't walk and makes little attempt to talk. Carlotta was being prepared for confirmation when she ran away with a man and was absent about a month. Since then this man has slashed her with a knife so that she was taken to the hospital to have her wounds dressed. She says she wants to be a store-girl and that she wants a piano most of anything in the world. She did not see action in the picture test and could not name the simple pieces of money. Her basal year was 6. She could not do division. Chronological age 15 years, 11 months. Mental age 9².

Nettie G.

An orphan with considerable property and refined, educated relatives. Father was a "rake" and had carnal knowledge of Nettie when she was only seven years old. Has had several escapades with men and boys of her neighborhood. Was expelled from college for stealing from girls in her house although she received an

ample allowance of spending money. Ate thirty pounds of chocolates in two weeks according to her guardian. Flirts with any strange men she may meet. Brought by her guardian on recommendation of an interested official. She failed on the visual memory test and on tests 3 and 5 in the 12-year group because of inattention. She interpreted the pictures and passed the controlled association test. She was 20 years and 6 months old and was above the 12-year level of intelligence. Her conversation, however, along most lines, was that of an adolescent.

Any of the "street walkers" or any one of the last three cases might easily have been committed to the institution, the inmates of which form the basis of the remainder of this study. The general type of girl is the same; it only happened that their particular cases had not fallen under the eye of the law or some watchful social agency. In fact, arrangements had been made there to receive Nettie G., as a private case, when a relative in a distant city volunteered to give her an opportunity to redeem herself, and she has for the present passed from under my observation. The remaining cases, 38 in number, were committed to a local institution for so-called "wayward" girls during the year, April 1914-March 1915.

This part of the study was possible because of the co-operation and the ready appreciation of the scientific value of such an investigation on the part of Mrs. E. E. Humphrey, the Superintendent of the House of Shelter, who from a wide experience with the delinquent and the defective-delinquent in institutional environment was able to contribute observations and judgments upon the daily life of the girls in her care, which were the strongest substantiating evidence of the correctness of our diagnoses.

This institution originally was designed to take to its sheltering arms all "fallen women" who, tired of the life they were leading, desired to find rest and the protection of a home. As you may surmise, few voluntarily sought its shelter; so that gradually it has become a place of detention for a wide variety of cases, committed by magistrates from all sections of the state, beside an occasional unfortunate who voluntarily seeks its protection. Almost without exception the inmates have been sex offenders.

I wish to acknowledge the work of my assistant, Miss Bridgeford, who gave the formal test to some of the House of Shelter girls and assisted in the tabulation of the data for the entire study.

In addition to the actual results secured with the tests (considering the scale only as a valuable instrument in estimating the

intelligence) we have our judgment of cases of slight mental defect or morosity that comes only from experience with the feeble-minded—their mistakes and failings; temperament; behavior at play; special weaknesses and typical tendencies. This judgment found its opportunity, particularly with the group of House of Shelter girls, in hours of observation and contact outside the time actually involved in giving the tests. One evening we had a party and played kindergarten games; another evening it was an hypnotic exhibition and a Punch and Judy show; and still other evenings women who were familiar with the problem taught them drills and dances. These opportunities to study the girls at play, to one that has lived in institutions, were extremely helpful in confirming the diagnoses of the higher grade cases. To this were added the opinions of trained and experienced persons who came in contact with these girls daily in the routine work of the house.

The House of Shelter girls ranged in age from 12 years to 40 years. The average age was 18 years. In mental age they ranged from 5 years to normal intelligence. The average mental age was 9 years, that "fatal" psychological level the significance of which has been remarked by Dr. Goddard.

TABLE II.

6	were rated as normal in intelligence.
13	tested 10 years.
12	tested 9 years.
3	tested 8 years.
3	tested 7 years.
1	tested 5 years.

Of the six rated as normal, three tested only to the eleven-year level, and it is my personal judgment that at least two of these are morons.

Even with the more conservative estimate we are facing the fact that 85 per cent of the inmates of this particular institution are feeble-minded, and that the great majority of them, within a few months, or at best a couple of years, will go back to the bosom of society with all their constitutional irresponsibility, there to be again the victims of social influences and environment against which their weak intellects are powerless; there again to fight and pitifully lose in the unfair contest. Knowing that these things are true—that the ranks of the recidivist are partially filled with those of feeble mind—that thousands of dollars are spent in gathering evidence and in trials of such cases—when will society demand

that the agencies available for a scientific disposition of a case be utilized at the very beginning, so that truth be secured that in many instances would render a wise settlement for all time possible?

In Chicago, County of Cook, for some six years, through the unselfish work of Miss Julia Lathrop and the wisdom and real philanthropy of several noble women, such an approach to juvenile court cases has been a reality. Dr. William Healy, whose recent book on the Individual Delinquent has been adopted as a text in the law schools of two universities, has shaped the work from its inception, and this winter the Juvenile Psychopathic Institute was taken over by the County and became an official adjunct of the Juvenile Court, with Dr. Healy sitting with the judge, and rendering needed information of diagnostic and prognostic character, based upon detailed study of the more unusual cases from medical, psychological and sociological standpoints. Judge Pinckney, the able and earnest incumbent of the bench, in his report for 1913 states, that he could not go on with his present work and carry a clear conscience without the help of Dr. Healy. Work of this character has been established also in Boston, Seattle, Munich and the Municipal Court of Chicago

If wise and conscientious judges in these centers do not hesitate to state their inability to deal properly with juvenile delinquents when they first face them, without expert assistance, surely the truth is spreading and perhaps the day is not far distant when the administration of justice, in the case of juvenile offenders at least, everywhere may be along scientific lines. The popular cry may attract more attention and gain more praise from those persons that always seek the easiest paths, which are frequently the paths that have been worn by those that thought least. But real good is secured in largest measure only where a scientific approach to the problem reveals the vital elements, and where we face and accept truth whether it is in opposition to preconceived notions or not. Truth is the greatest thing in the world; nothing is ever gained in racial or personal advancement by not facing the truth. We may fool ourselves and may lead others astray because our view is the more pleasant; but we never help to solve the real problems. Emerson has said that the most unpleasant truth is a safer companion than the most agreeable falsehood. The tendency on the part of many good people, who should be of great help in attacking the problems of the feeble-minded, is to say: "Well, it all seems so dark; it can not be true; tell us about the numbers that are normal, that can be cured." One person said to me, looking

at Ruth R.: "Doctor, I can't believe that she would not become a good and safe member of society if we could only bring the right influence to bear upon her; she is so clean-cut and lovable in appearance."

It was possible to obtain very accurate histories of the chief events that bore upon the social unfitness and lack of responsibility of the House of Shelter cases, and I here introduce these facts, together with results of examination, in the case of the girl referred to in the preceding paragraph, following them with similar histories of the other cases.

Ruth R.

Family illiterate, "hand-to-mouth" country people who hunt and fish and do odd jobs. Two sisters "went wrong." Ruth claims that her brother was the first to have carnal knowledge of her. She was sent to the House of Shelter as a homeless child. She is described as a sweet, nice creature to live with while under supervision, but irresponsible. Went to work in private family and when out mailing a letter one evening was "picked up" by a man and went to a road house where they spent the night. Was later sent to a place in the country but found it too tame and returned to the institution. Stole a key and with another girl went with two men in automobile to a road house, where the men left them after they were through with them and the girls wandered in the snow and rain for some hours about the city's outskirts until reported by telephone and located by an officer. Now at the institution, and the great problem is her disposition—"what shall be done with her?" She can't do long division and gave only 29 words in three minutes. Chronological age, 16 years, 5 months. Mental age 10.

Eva S.

Father was sent to prison and mother married again. Second husband supposed to have murdered her, but escaped sentence on a technicality. Sent to prison later on a charge of robbery. Children were then distributed to institutions. Eva has been in five institutions. Finally committed to House of Shelter as a vagrant for "as long as she behaves herself." Was put out to work at two places. "Solicited" the conductors on the trolley cars and was a failure in her work. Was a liar but had not intelligence to tell a lie that would sound plausible. Was brought back to the institution and was very troublesome. Transfer could not be

effected so was returned to her aunt. Is now trying to work in a factory and the aunt feels that she cannot keep the girl much longer. Enumerated in the picture test, could not name months of year, and did not recognize the simple pieces of money. Basal year 6. Chronological age 18 years, 4 months (she gave it as 14 years). Mental age 8⁴.

Ethel W.

From a degenerate country family. The girl lived with her father till neighbors interfered. She went out to work, but was so worthless that she couldn't keep a job. Finally went to live with a woman who kept a boarding house, where she became so intimate with the men that the woman caused her commitment. The Superintendent, of course, found her absolutely inefficient. Girl blames all her failures on "the Lord." Her basal year was 7. Chronological age, 16 years, 8 months. Mental age, 7³.

Mollie E.

Sent to House of Shelter as a material witness in a white slave case. Is the illegitimate child of a woman of good family who has since married and has disowned Mollie. Mollie lived with a man in a room till he beat her so much that she complained to the police. The man was held under "white slave" act and she as a witness. Later placed in a home from the House of Shelter to care for a blind woman. Stole the woman's clothing and \$5.00 and ran away. Caught and brought back. An officer who examined her told us he thought she was "foolish"—"off in the head." She met my assistant while on her way to her position, but could not tell what she was employed to do, nor the name of the woman for whom she was to work. Mollie is now working in a private home. Says she was ready for 7th grade when she left school at 17 years, but she cannot do long division. Chronological age, 18 years, 3 months. Mental age 9⁴. Basal year, 7.

Minnie E.

Her parents quarreled much and mother was immoral. Mother took boarders and through her mother's plans Minnie "fell from virtue" with her brother. She then lived with a "boarder" for one and a half years in her mother's house. A man was then said to have "kidnapped" her. She is now pregnant. The father of her child is married, but doesn't live with his wife. She says: "Billie get divorce and marry me." Billie

is in jail on charge of kidnapping her. Says she was in third grade at school when she left, but had been kept home to help work on doctor's certificate that she had "weak eyes." She says she "forgets" how to do long division. When asked for the capital of the United States she said: "White House," with a question in her voice, and then added: "Don't know—ain't heard for quite awhile. Had a lot of trouble around home; ain't had time to find out nothin'." Chronological age, 15 years, 5 months. Mental age, 9⁴.

Edith S.

Had a child five years ago. Went to a home for old ladies and worked as a kitchen maid. Ran off with an Italian and upon her return the matron of the home, fearing there would be another child, sought to commit her to the House of Shelter. The charge of "common vagrant" was finally made and the girl was committed. When asked what was to be done at the end of the six-month sentence, the woman who sought her commitment replied: "Oh, our responsibility ceases then." (I wonder whether or not it does cease then?) She had attended public school until she was eighteen. It is significant that she had progressed only to the 5th grade. In her home community she was said to be a "good girl," was in church work and had led Christian Endeavor meetings. Could not subtract 4 cents from 20 cents, could not name the simple pieces of money and failed to count backward from 20 to 1. She defined in terms of use. She is 25 years old and tested eight.

Anastasia

Anastasia is a slow-thinking, worried-looking child of twelve, with an adenoid face. She is about eight months pregnant and commitment was sought for her as a material witness in a charge of rape in the second degree. The Superintendent of the House of Shelter announced to the girl's mother that commitment must be until the child was twenty-one. The mother grew much excited over this idea, even though an older sister two years ago bore an illegitimate child. Anastasia had been in the 3rd grade in public school. Chronological age, 12 years, 9 months. Mental age, 8². Her basal year was 6.

Marie S.

Mother dead. Father earns a dollar a day. Four years ago she had some "serious trouble" with her father and he turned her

out. She lived from place to place, working for her board. During this time she had three miscarriages—one in a railroad station. She then went to live with a woman who took boarders, where she "got sweet on the star boarder" and the woman became jealous and complained about the girl's immorality to the court and she was committed to the House of Shelter. She was then pregnant for the fourth time. The baby was later born dead. After the delivery she talked in a maudlin way about her baby being "put in the cold ground," and cried because she wanted to see where it was to be buried, and discussed the fitness of "wearing mourning" for the baby. She said she had been in the 6th grade at school, but didn't get along and had to stay two years more in the 4th grade because she was a "silly goose." She insisted that a red postage stamp cost one cent and a green one two cents, and defined in terms of use. When asked who was President of the United States, she said she didn't know, but later ventured the statement that Governor Glynn was also President. The capital of the United States she said was New York. When talking with the other girls a few days ago she said: "Well, I've had four babies, and I suppose soon after I get out I'll have another. It wouldn't surprise me." Chronological age, 17 years, 9 months. Mental age, 9¹.

Helen F.

Slow, phlegmatic, sleepy, indifferent, very obese—almost myxodematous. She was pregnant and was committed as a material witness in a rape case as "an infant under the age of 16 years." (Only too nearly true was the language of the commitment, since this girl's mental age was 9¹.) Her reaction time to all the tests was very long. She could not name the simple pieces of money and gave only 48 words in three minutes. Chronological age, 15 years. Mental age 9¹.

Marjorie J.

Was confined in an institution from which she escaped. She has a child one year old with its father's people. Her mother was deserted ten years ago by her husband and left with three children. After Marjorie escaped from the institution she returned home and was "on the town." In a short time she became such a "common" person that she was recognized at once by the police and detectives of her home city as soon as she appeared on the street. Since in the House of Shelter she has run away twice and returned to her old haunts, where she was recognized at once on

the streets by the police. She was caught by the Superintendent of the House of Shelter, exhibiting herself to workmen in a nearby building. Recently she leaped from a second-story window to the pavement and effected her escape for the third time, presumably to meet a man who had rented a room for her reception.

The charge at the time of her arrest was that of a "common prostitute." She was winsome in appearance—almost angelic. One good woman who did not understand the problem said to me as she watched Marjorie one evening enjoying some games: "She is a sweet girl; isn't she pretty?" When I spoke of the danger to society of this type, she said: "But, doctor, you don't think her condition is hopeless; she is so pretty and sweet?" Chronological age, 17 years, 9 months. Mental age, 10⁴. She said she was in the 7th grade when she left school, but she could not do long division and could not subtract 4 cents from 20 cents.

Hattie P.

Let me tell you about Hattie's experience and then tell you her age and intelligence.

Hattie was sold by her father to a man 60 years old for a sum of money. Father and brother both had assaulted her. She was with her purchaser for about six weeks. Her mother cried and didn't want her to go. Hattie is dwarfish, of the rachitic type. She is lacking in muscular control, feet, turning inward, hands ape-like, thumb short, facial angle marked, heavy mandible. She soils her clothes and smiles in imbecile fashion. She doesn't know her birthday, but says it is "first of April fool." When asked what Santa Claus had brought her for Christmas, she replied: "Dollie, nice dollie." Here was a little child, alive to dollies, but the victim of irresponsible adults. Chronological age, 13 years, 10 months. Mental age, 5³. Basal year, 4.

Regia R.

This woman is the mother of three children, one known to be "a fool." Her husband is living. She ran off with a young boy. She cannot copy the diamond, doesn't know who is President of the United States, and when asked to name the capital of the United States said she had never studied politics. She gave 23 words in three minutes, slowly naming the objects that were within the range of her vision in the room. Chronological age, 25 years. Mental age, 7². Her basal year was 6.

Elza N.

Mother is a widow with eight children. A married man left his wife and children to live with Elza. They were found in a room and the charge against Elza is adultery. She is a vigorous, fine-looking girl of marked animal spirits and vicious temper. She was very impatient at first and required much stimulation throughout the testing. She could not count the postage stamps correctly and defined in terms of use. Her visual memory test was a complete failure, even on repeated trials. She lost interest quickly. Her basal year was 7. Chronological age, 20 years. Mental age, 9¹.

Lucy M.

Lucy was arrested in company with another girl attempting to rob a man. She was dressed in man's clothes and carried a knife and revolver. She was described as a desperate character, "a gun-girl," etc. She was said to have a lover in prison and to be the partner of numerous criminals. In appearance she was large, coarse, sallow, with a dull, expressionless eye and stooping shoulders. She was inclined to answer only in monosyllables. She gave 48 words in three minutes after much encouragement, frequently saying: "All I can think of." Her basal year was 7. Chronological age, 20 years. Said she had been in 6th grade, but could not do long division. Mental age, 10.

Maggie T.

Had been induced to correspond with a man in another city through the work of a woman who visited her city and Maggie had eventually left home and gone to the other city to meet this man. Her father followed at once when word reached him of her arrest and the fact that the man found with her was being held for violation of the Mann Act. Before the father reached her, however, information had been elicited from the girl that indicated that her father had been the first to have illicit relations with her and that he was insanely jealous of her. Chronological age, 17 years. Mental age, 10³. Basal year, 8.

Susie C.

Arrested for abducting a man and his two children, leaving his wife in bed with a baby two weeks old. She had been employed as nurse in the confinement of the wife. Investigation showed that she had been in a hospital for three months as a pupil nurse, and in another one for a shorter time; had been under

observation as to her mental state in the latter institution, and said she had suffered from nervous prostration several years ago. This was all the training she had received in nursing, but talked glibly about obstetrical work. Told a rambling story about her experiences with the man with whom she was when arrested. Showed considerable mental confusion. Denied "fits." Man whom she abducted was seen by a person of experience with institutional types who stated that he looked "weak-minded." Susie was married and had borne two children, but had not lived with her husband for several years. Remained until court released her and then secured a job as nurse to an old lady. Later was a waitress in an apartment house. Has remained in the city, to which chance brought her, and seems to be doing well so far as supporting herself is concerned. Used excellent English. Chronological age, 28 years. Mental age, 11².

Amanda M.

Secured a working certificate as a school girl and worked at millinery for a time, and then in a large manufacturing concern. Ran off with a man and lived for several months with him in another state, but tired of him and returned to her parents. Later struck her mother and her father then had her committed to the House of Shelter as an "ungovernable child." While in the House of Shelter she became acutely ill and was operated upon for a serious infection within the pelvis. She then went home. Her basal year was 7. Was very loquacious and wished to please and to be admired. Attempted to make use of large words with laughable results. Chronological age, 16 years. Mental age, 10.

Jane E.

Committed as "an ungovernable child." Father a working man. Mother in a hospital for the insane. Was neglected by her mother and "ran wild" until neighbors secured her commitment through the Charities. She now is working for a doctor and is doing well. Chronological age, 18 years, 1 month. Mental age, 10.

Gertrude F.

Committed through the Charities to an institution for the feeble-minded. "Side-tracked" at the House of Shelter to await a place at the institution to which she was committed. Has since gone to the proper place. Habits were bad. Father served a prison sentence and the child was finally taken from him because it was his custom to charge admission to see the girls in a "slug-

ging match." Two older sisters are now in Bedford Reformatory. Gertrude was in the 2nd grade when she left school. She could not copy the diamond and didn't know the President nor the capital of the United States. She enumerated in the picture test. Basal year was 6. Chronological age, 12 years. Mental age, 7³.

Cora D.

Cora was pregnant. Washed dishes in a hotel until her condition became the "scandal of the village," when she was sent to the House of Shelter. Was in the second grade when she left school three years ago. Went to school but three years. Said to have been sickly and to have been excused on doctor's certificate. Can't do long division. Basal year, 6. Simply enumerates in Binet picture test. Chronological age, 16 years. Mental age, 9¹.

Violet B.

Father respectable. Brothers good. Sister said to be a fine girl. Violet wanted to learn nursing and is said to have entered a hospital. Did not come home and was found living with a man. Was then a detention case on probation. Broke her parole and was later found in another city, "hustling" for a man. Violet said she finished the grammar school and spent a few weeks in high school. However, she failed to count the postage stamps in the mental tests and defined in terms of use. Her basal year was 7. Chronological age, 18 years. Mental age, 10⁴.

Clara J.

She left school at age of sixteen when in the fifth grade. She cannot do division; says she "never learned to do it." She did housework until a friend told her of an easier way to earn money and got her into a house of prostitution. She left soon and tried to get her friend out. The other girl refused to quit the house. Clara then made complaint to the police and was held as a witness. She is 23 years old. Mental age, 9³.

Katharine A.

Reached House of Shelter through the Humane Society. She had been frequenting dance halls and running with men. She said she sometimes had been with as many as thirteen. She left school when in the fifth grade. Recently has wanted to join the Salvation Army. Chronological age, 14 years. Mental age, 11¹.

Charlotte K.

Father said to be "peculiar" and very lazy. Mother goes on crutches. Charlotte had a sister "mixed up with men" one year

ago, and the sister was murdered and the body thrown in a lake. There is an older sister not as bright as Charlotte. She works, however, and earns something. Charlotte had a child one year ago at House of Shelter. She was then placed in a family as maid. She planned to run away with a man one night, but was caught and brought back to House of Shelter. Chronological age, 15 years. Mental age, 11.

Ida W.

Is an epileptic. Had an epileptic brother who died. Family are country people. Father drinks. Mother a very good woman. Child wanted to work. Went to a nearby city and secured housework. Became devoted to the skating rinks and was later arrested in company with a "notorious woman." Said to be "more sinned against than sinning." In the institution she is very dependable, cheerful, sunny, polite, happy. Superintendent, however, says Ida has her definite limitations. Must eventually return home, where mother needs her to work. Chronological age, 18 years. Mental age, 9⁴. Basal year, 5.

Annetta W.

A sister of Sadie, also in House of Shelter. An older sister formerly in House of Shelter is now in Bedford Reformatory. Annetta was committed as a "disobedient child." She and two other girls "fell in with" two strange fellows, who took them in an automobile to a "road house" for supper. Here the fellows wanted to have them remain all night. The other girl was willing, but Annetta refused. They escaped from the hotel and walked through the snow to a "friendly house," as the girl described it, where a woman kept them over night, fed them and sent them home by rail. She feared her father would "lick" her, so she slept in the back yard one night. Two other nights they slept in an old wagon in alley. The other girl had stolen some money from the fellow she had been with and they bought some cakes to satisfy their hunger. They then went home and the Humane Society took charge of the case and had them sent to the House of Shelter. The Superintendent feels that Annetta is still virtuous. She is committed until she is twenty-one years old. If she is good, she will be given a chance to work in a selected private home. Was in the fifth grade in school when she left. Chronological age, 13 years, 4 months. Mental age, 10 years.

Geraldine T.

Husband is in adjoining city. She came to Albany "to see a fellow." Was walking with him on the street, when he was mixed

up in a fight and she was held as a witness. Says she is anxious for her husband not to learn where she is. Was in fourth grade, she says, when she left school. She cannot do long division and gave only 26 words in three minutes, even under much encouragement. Is graceful and soft-mannered. Chronological age, 28 years. Mental age, 9⁴. Basal year, 7.

Ada P.

Arrested with her half-sister, Lucy M., in a saloon in man's clothes after an attempted hold-up. Had concealed weapons upon her. Escaped with the other girl and was caught in two hours in man's clothes about to board a freight train for New York City. Other girl was sent to Bedford Reformatory, from which she subsequently escaped, and was recaptured. Ada was put on probation. While the two girls had been in the city before their arrest they had maintained a room, where many men visited them. Her basal year was 8. Chronological age, 18 years. Mental age, 10⁴.

Ella I.

Father 48 years old. Shot himself two weeks ago supposedly because the doctor told him he would never be able to work because of heart trouble. Brother had "awful fits of temper" and left home several years ago. The girl was pregnant. Child subsequently was born in the institution and the mother served as a "wet nurse" at a local hospital, where her baby later died. Has worked several places but couldn't get along with the people at any of the places. Always returned to the institution when out of a job. Is now on a farm and doing fairly well. Was so tall as to be conspicuous. Response to tests very irregular. Basal year 6. Chronological age, 19 years. Mental age, 11².

Bella A.

Married a "lazy wretch" who later left her. She did the work and supported the four children after a fashion. She became lame and says she has rheumatism. Went to another state and took a furnished room in a city where she made the acquaintance of a young girl whom she induced to write to a man in Albany. The girl later came to Albany to meet the man in question and the arrest under the Mann Act followed, Bella being held as an accessory in the case. She has one aunt, an epileptic. She was later released on bail. She said she was in the fifth grade when she left school, but she could not do the simplest problem in long division and gave only 51 words in three minutes. Her basal year was 8. Chronological age, 29 years. Mental age, 11.

Arline S.

This girl did house work from the time she was 7 years old. Spent three years in an orphanage, then worked for a doctor for a time. Was placed in House of Shelter for "street walking." She said she was in the 7th grade in school when she left at the age of 16 years, but she said Roosevelt was President and New York was the Capital of the United States. She failed on long division, saying, "I never could do those." She gave only 54 words in three minutes with much urging, frequently saying: "That's as far as I can give." Says she has seen \$3 and \$4 bills, and says: "I had a good many of those." She did not see absurdity in the story of the boy locked in a room, nor in the story of my three brothers. She failed to count the stamps properly. Basal year 7. Chronological age 17 years, 3 months. Mental age, 9³.

Katie J.

She was the daughter of an artist, a German, well born, who married a hotel servant girl. He had studied medicine for two years in a German University. His family dropped him after his marriage and he went from bad to worse, until he became a scene painter in theaters, and wandered about, being away for six months at a time. Mother did washing to support children. There were three other children. Mother died of cancer, leaving the four children homeless. Katie found the dance halls and had a night with several men in an automobile party which brought the climax, and she was committed through the Charities to Hudson Training School, but because of long waiting list was "side-tracked" at local institution. Her commitment was later changed. She was later committed to said local institution. She is now in a good private home and is doing well. She is clean, nice looking, well behaved and very good with children. Her ambition is to be a nurse. Her younger sister came to the city to work and has become "common property." The older sister is much displeased and threatens her sister with commitment to the institution where she herself has been so well cared for. She left school at 14 years when in 5th grade. She failed to count the stamps correctly, defined in terms of use and failed on the "absurdities." Her basal year was 7. Chronological age, 16 years, 10 months. Mental age, 10.

Ellen C.

Committed through the Humane Society for 6 months because of "danger of becoming a prostitute." Had played piano in moving picture shows and dance halls. Chronological age 16 years, 11 months. Mental age, 10¹.

Maude B.

Left 7th grade in school three years ago. Said she didn't like school—"ain't good in it." She said: "I give my age as 15 years, but I am older and am married." Was committed as a "street walker" and prostitute. Failed on visual memory test and gave only 57 words in three minutes under much encouragement. Basal year 7. Chronological age, 17 years, 9 months. Mental age, 9³.

Eveline H.

Left school when in 5th grade on account of sickness in family. Says she didn't like school. Parents couldn't control her. She lived with a man for several weeks. Developed specific disease since in House of Shelter, and the church to which she belongs took her to a free bed in a hospital. Her church friends then stated that some "doctor" said he would treat her for \$10. She has gone out into society. Did not see action in the Binet pictures, defined in terms of use and failed on the comprehension tests. Basal year, 6. Chronological age, 21 years. Mental age, 9⁴.

Sadie W.

Sister of Annetta W. now in House of Shelter. One sister who has epilepsy now in Bedford Reformatory. Mother has a "tic" and seems peculiar. Little brothers are sickly and poorly nourished. Father, an iceman, and works only part of the year. She was committed by the court on action of a charitable organization for immorality with men. Says she stopped school at 14 years of age, when she was in 7th grade. She says Glynn is President of the United States and failed on the visual memory test. Chronological age, 16 years, 7 months. Mental age, 11.

Ina A.

Committed as a "street walker" and prostitute on statement of her father. She is very lazy. Did not see action in the pictures. Says she was in 7th grade when she left school. Chronological age, 16 years, 4 months. Mental age, 10³.

Sidney

Has a husband 70 years old—a gambler. When she was brought to House of Shelter she was "in rags." Brought in on charge of "disorderly conduct" and was drunk when she arrived. Two children (babies), were found at the house where she lived. Police would not have known they were there from any statement made by her. They were almost starved. One was only six weeks old.

Another child is in an Orphan Asylum, and when I saw him some months ago he was under treatment for syphilis. She is the fourth wife of present husband. First child born before marriage. He had eight children in family when she married him and she bore him eight more. Five are in asylums. Three died in infancy. Husband says he has "grounds for a divorce." She was committed for six months and has since helped to nurse an inmate at the time of the birth of a child. She could not do long division. Counts backward from 20 to 1 in 42 seconds and with one omission. When asked the difference between paper and cloth she said: "One's paper and one's cloth;" likewise: "Wood's wood and glass is glass." With much encouragement and urging, she gave 57 words in three minutes. She states that she was in the 8th grade when she left school, but this is very doubtful. She lacks concentration. Has a certain worldly shrewdness and maintains a discreet silence, answering with a "knowing smile," which would deceive the observer unless he insisted upon an answer to some question, when her limited intelligence is often revealed. She refused to be tested at first, but finally consented, "to help the doctor." She later confessed that she had been afraid she could not pass the examination and did not want to appear foolish. She is 40 years of age with a mentality of ten years.

I feel that this study is of most interest to the legal profession, social workers and court or probation officers. Studies of a similar character now in progress under Mr. Walter Clarke, of the American Social Hygiene Association, the work of Goddard and Hill, studies of delinquent girls by Dr. W. H. Pyle, University of Missouri, to say nothing of the extensive and scholarly researches of Dr. Healy, combine to show, that, while the per cent. of feeble-minded may vary considerably in different institutions or in different selected groups, the problem is always to be reckoned with, and social workers or judicial systems that attempt to deal with these cases without proper study and understanding of them are often the indirect cause of much harm.

What about the delinquent of normal intelligence? Well, that is the other half of the big story, and it demands as much if not more attention and understanding than does the side we have been discussing. The limitations of our examinations are of course evident. The fact that formal tests were about all that time and surroundings permitted, and that physical examinations were not practicable, nor full and accurate medical histories obtainable, limits the study in its appeal, but it should bring home one point very

strongly to social welfare workers and persons concerned in any way with the operation of the machinery of our courts—namely, that the problems of poverty, vagrancy, drunkenness, sexual debauchery and crime in general will continue to harass our social conscience, and that there always will be trouble and unpleasant experiences in the management of all institutions, custodial and correctional, until there is general appreciation of the fact that the delinquent and the defective-delinquent present two distinct problems; until we insist upon proper scientific classification, especially by our juvenile courts, of all offenders before disposition is made of them; until we accept the truth that feeble-mindedness is incurable and that praying with such children and attempting to educate them along ordinary school lines is worse than useless; until we have institutions for delinquents that have ceased to be the dumping ground for the feeble-minded; and until adequate institutions for these feeble-minded are provided, equipped and administered as blessed havens of permanent refuge for these irresponsibles, who, facing life in the world, invite only disaster upon themselves and society.